Kiai Langgar and Kalebun

A Study on Contestation Between Cultural Brokers in A Non-Pesantren Village in Madura, Indonesia

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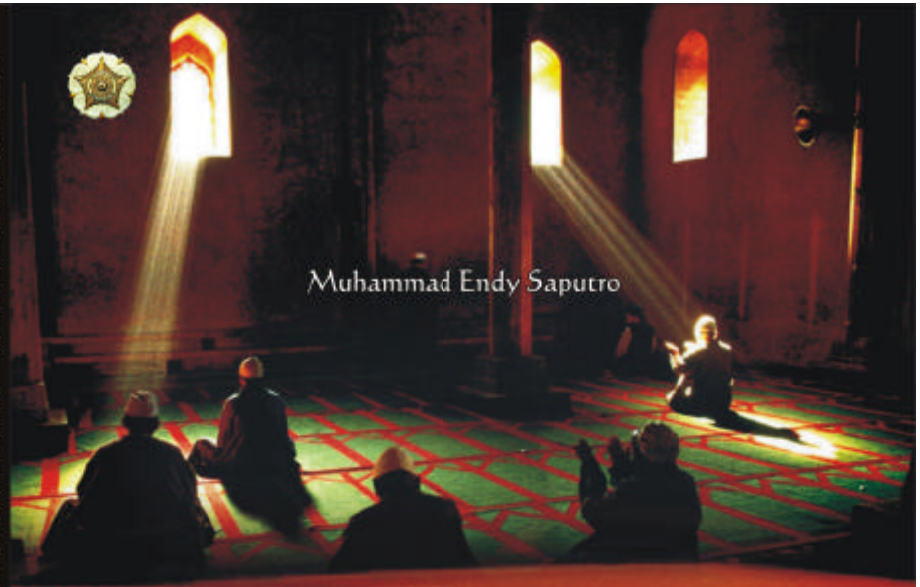
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Madura is one of thousand Indonesian islands which identical with *kiai* and the *pesantren*. Through the *pesantren*, the *kiai* institutionalizes Islamic knowledge into Madurese people. However, what happens if a Madurese village has no *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school)? My research reveals that the absence of *pesantren* in Madura raises a contestation of cultural brokers. There are two cultural brokers in Gapurana, namely the **kalebun** (leader of the village) and the *kiai langgar* (religious leader of a small mosque). Those two have their own paramater to implement the tradition in that village. These paramaters evoke two distintive traditions in Gapurana, they are the *kalebun's* tradition and the *kiai's* tradition. The *kalebun's* tradition is based on the Madurese historical precedence and on the other hand, the *kiai's* tradition is based on Qur'an and tradition of the prophet Muhammad. Applying critically Talal Asad's concept on tradition (1993- 1996a; 1996b), I analyze those two contestations. Based on my fieldwork, I find that although the *kalebun's* tradition gives negative effects of the Gapuranese economics, the Gapuranese people remain conduct the *kalebun's* tradition. On the other hand, the *kyai's* tradition seeks to prevent the Gapuranese from the negative effects of the *kalebun's* tradition.

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PREFACE

The genealogy of tradition in Gapurana, Madura is inseparable from precedence practices in the colonial era. On one hand, tradition of *kalebun* (village head) has been influenced by the construction of Sumenep palace *before* the coming of Islam. On the other hand, tradition of *kiai langgar* (leader of small family mosque) has been impacted by the construction of Sumenep palace *after* the coming of Islam. The tradition of *kalebun* has taken place through a transformative process of the function of cultural broker. Accordingly, *kalebun* was a social category to denote a traditional leader in a *tanean lanjang*; while now it has been to name a village leader. Obviously, this changing reality deals with the transformation of traditional leader's function.

As consequence of naming for a traditional leader, *kalebun*'s function has dealt with a system of settlement (*tanean lanjang*). At the same time, it has regarded to the problem of spatial boundary, denoting that each *tanean* might have had own *kalebun* and as a result a group within one *tanean* would be difficult to recognize a *kalebun* in another *tanean*. To sum up, the system of *tanean* group depends on someone who considered as a leading figure (*kalebun*). Hence, the election of *lurah* in Gapurana has changed the role of the highest of leading figure, i.e. from *kalebun* to *lurah*. It is likely that noble of Sumenep palace had selected *lurah* from one of local *tanean*' *kalebuns*, meaning that all *tanean* groups should have recognized the *lurah* as the highest leading figure in that village. Hence, there has been changing of spatial boundary, from the boundary of *tanean* to of village. From this reason, the contestations between *kiai* and local elites have emerged.

The existence of *kiai* in Madura in general depends on his institution to reproduce his influence towards society. If a *bindara* (a noble [*rato*] from *kiai*'s descendant) has a palace to reproduce influence, the *kiai* has a *pesantren* to impact his influence, while *kiai langgar* needs *a langgar* to do the same one within a *tanean*. Interestingly, in Sumenep mainland (*daratan*), relation between *bindara* and its palace on one side and on the other the relation between *kiai* and its *pesantren* are similar enough. In other words, *kiai* is similar to *bindara*, whereas *pesantren* is comparable with palace. Arguably, both of *pesantren* and palace take important role in persuading *santri* and people to obey the *kiai* as well as the *bindara*. Yet, this correlation does not exist in Gapurana. In this village, the existence of *kalebun* is necessary to compare with the existence of *rato*. In brief, *oreng kene'* (laity people) obedience toward the *kalebun* is similar to their respect toward the *rato*.

This study at least focuses on four important parts which each part discuss in detail both theoretical and practice of contestation among cultural brokers in Gapurana, Sumenep, Madura. First part elaborates general background dealing with the contestation of cultural brokers in Gapurana. In addition, the second discusses the location of research and explores its process of cultural broker's genealogy. Meanwhile, the third investigates two main traditions, i.e. the tradition of *kiai langgar* and of *kalebun* which is both of them have different model. The fourth analyzes the contestation of the cultural brokers. Last but not least, the fifth is critical conclusion that explains the significant of research location and its theoretical relevance.

CHAPTER I
THE ROLE MODEL FOR THE VILLAGERS OF GAPURANA

A. Gapurana and Madura

Assalamu 'alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh. Two times had Kiai Rama uttered the salutation, marking the end of the *subuh* prayers. Soon the congregation was engaged in *dhikir,* chanting phrases of prayers while counting them on their *tasbih*, one bead after another. In unison, they raised their arms affirming Kiai Rama's words of prayers with amens. His voice trembled as if something had happened in the village. When done, the congregation left that small Muslim chapel called *langgar*.

A number of female *santri*, students of Islamic boarding schools, quickly took the Qur'an. They sat in a circle reciting its verses in turn. The sound broke the silence of dawn in Gapurana. It came to the ears of the sleeping villagers. Yet, Gapurana remained quiet. Daily activities had not yet begun.

At 5.30 a.m the recitation was unheard. Shortly it was replaced by the sound of rock *dangdut* song *Kucing Garong* (womanizer) echoing throughout the village. This time, it did wake the people up.

Kelakuan si kucing garong
kalau lihat mangsa mengeong
Main sikat main embat
mangsa yang lewat
Kelakuan si kucing garong
Selalu mencari sasaran
Asal liat pepesan
Wajah bringasan itu sifatnya lelaki
yang meniru kaya kucing garong
Awas harus hati-ati
bila si kucing sedang beraksi
yang jadi modal andalan
Kucing tawarkan uang jutaan
pabila tak kuat iman
Dapat-dapat jadi berantakan

The main road was packed with people in no time. Women headed westward, towards the market, to get their children some breakfast. There at the market, people were buzzing about a wedding reception later in the afternoon. Some of them were trying to get themselves a date while others talking about their husband's annoying habit of *nyawer*, giving money away to *tayub* dancers.

It was *nemor*, the dry season, at that time. Almost every day the local people seemed to take their turn to marry their children and hold a wedding reception. The invitees had already been preparing for it since early morning. They took a half –or even the whole? day off from work only to accept the invitation from *gabay*, the wedding host. Many bought a new dress for the occasion.

The *Kalebun* (village head) and spouse were no exception. *Bu Kalebun* was dressed in kebaya with a headscarf and long brown skirt while the husband was wearing a suit, *peci* cap, and woven silk sarong. They were the village leaders. The villagers addressed them *bhuppa' bhabbu* (Sir and Madam).

However, *Kiai* Rama was not among them; he did not seem to be busy with the wedding reception. He would rather teach at the Gapurana I Elementary School. To him, a wedding reception was disposed to immorality. *Tayub* and *nyawer* were the reasons why. Attending them was just another way of favoring immorality. He had many times told the local people to leave such a tradition but to no effect. To them, *Kiai* Rama was no more than a *goro* (teacher).

The above facts are not likely to be found elsewhere in Madura, where *kiai* win more respect than *kalebun*. Kuntowijoyo (2002:588) suggests that such a condition is affected by the relationship between ecological conditions of dryland, settlement patterns, and social structure in Madura. Land surface in Madura is composed of calcareous clay soils. Rainfall is low, causing water shortage. For the reason, the Madurese rely on dryland rainfed farming.

Settlements are situated in the center of dryland farming areas. One unit area of dryland is occupied by one big family consisting of five to ten sib family heads. A *langgar* can usually be found in each settlement. Such one big family settlement is called *kampong meji*. Several *kampong meji* join to form a *dusun*. In turn, several *dusun* join to form a village. In every village there is a *masjid* (mosque) led by a *kiai,* Muslim religious teacher. *Kiai* and the village *masjid* therefore have a structural relationship above the *kampong meji*. Consequently, "the leader of the *masjid*, the village *kiai*, is on the top of the village social hierarchy." In fact, "the village *kiai* is considered higher than the village head whose position is higher only administratively" (Kuntowijoyo, 2002: 589).

On the local political stage, as asserted further by Kuntowijoyo (2002:337-345, 592), *kiai* in charge of *langgar* within Prajan, Sampang, Madura, took an active part in rousing fighting spirit against the

Dutch. The battle killed 20 people and injured 12. Since then, Prajan has become a symbol of fight against the Dutch colonial authorities.

Madurese society sees *kiai* as the bearers of good fortune in life. *Kiai* are requested to lead prayers at rituals like *kenduren* or *selametan* (feast held to pray for the deceased), *rokat bandaran* (annual fisherman's feast), and a fisherman's launch (Kuntowijoyo 2002: 332-333). In fact, when *carok* is about to occur,"carok fighters feel the need to *nyabis* (visit) *kiai* to ask for their 'blessing' and *apagar* to ask for *jaza'* (talisman for safety and protection)" (Wiyata, 2002:48).

Kiai also take part in the process of arts polarization. In Madura, art is polarized into profane art and religious (Islamic) art. Profane art refers to Madurese folk arts performed by "the common" *(non-pesantren)* like *tayub* and *loddrok*. Religious art refers to Islamic arts performed by *kiai's* children including those who have learned about Islam or the devout ones" such as *kasidah*, *hadrah*, and *gambus* musical performances (Bouvier, 2002:348). *Kiai*, in fact had issued a fatwa against profane art performances and suggested religious art performances instead; however, it had an effect only during the Ramadan (Bouvier, 2002:349-35 1).

In economical and religious terms, *kiai* play a significant role. Huub de Jonge (1989:277-278) find that *kiai* and merchants

> "were strong allies. *Kiai* dynasties owed their existence and influence to elite merchants. *Pesantren*, *mushola*, and *masjid* were mostly financed by merchant families. Their words and behavior promoted Islamic tradition and set an example in the village in terms of obedience to obligations in Islam."

Through sermons and religious talks, *kiai* helped emphasize Islamic views on hard work. This was where merchant-bosses benefited from:

hard work raised income. In return, they willingly supported religious activities. Furthermore, in order to carry equal prestige with *kiai*, merchants made the hajj pilgrimage.1

Despite the fact that Gapurana is within Madura, the respect the villagers of Gapurana have for *kalebun* is quite on the contrary to that in other villages of Madura. As explained earlier, most people of Madura are more obedient to *kiai* than to *kalebun*. Villagers of Gapurana take the *kalebun*, instead of *kiai*, as their role model. This makes it interesting to analyze.

B. Objectives and Benefits

The research primarily seeks to describe why the villagers of Gapurana prefer having the *kalebun* as their role model to *kiai* and to understand how the phenomenon occurs. The question "why" serves the purpose of understanding diachronic (historical) process while the question "how" serves the purpose of understanding the synchronic (existing) process of the said phenomenon in Gapurana.

The research has two domains of benefits encompassing those related to social phenomena commonly occurring in the society. The main issue of the research discusses at least two main discourses i.e. local leaders and Islam-related issues in Madura.

As elaborated previously in the background section, researches on local leaders in Madura are still limited to *kiai*. In fact, a village has a number of local leaders with social titles. Hans Antlov and Sven Cederroth (1998:10) divide them into two: those who are primally morally oriented with a high degree of community commitment and those 'with an up- and outward orientation … sanctioned by official

mandate, burdened with administrative tasks and lured by access to state resources'

Focusing on *kiai* would limit the discussion to the former category only. In other words, the discussion would deal with moral issues and the role of moral guardian. Assuming that *kiai* are able to bring about social changes in the society, the social changes are moral-based.

This is not the case if *kiai* are put side by side with other local leaders, for instance the *kalebun*. Further investigations into the subject will reveal their hidden interests in a discourse on local leaders. On the one hand, village local leaders are idealized agents who lead the society to social change. On the other, they are characterized with powers and therefore prone to personal gain not only in the form of wealth but also prestige (Antlov dan Cederroth, 1998). Under such circumstances, social change is a tool to maintain their power.

C. *Cultural Broker* and *Local Leadership*

The term 'cultural broker' was first introduced by Eric Wolf for social agents who "stand guard over the crucial junctures of synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole" (Wolf, 1956:1065). In practice, a broker serves function to selectively introduce modern cultures to traditional communities (Wolf, 1956), adaptively bring urban culture to village community (Loffler, 1971), selectively interpret national issues to local communities (Geerts, 1960), or to link local communities with larger communities outside (Kuntowijoyo, 2002). This explains that the main role of a cultural broker is to modernize local communities. It is important to point out

that, as Wolf argues, modernization here means selecting only what is appropriate for the local communities.

As a go-between, a cultural broker should possess higher potentials than any other members of the community. The potentials may be in the form of material and non-material capital. Material capital may take the form of land, money, or *hacienda* (Wolf, 1956). Non-material capital may be in the form of accumulation of knowledge, like what Javanese *kiai* possess (Geertz, 1960). Such capital set up a dichotomy between the owner of greater capital as the agent and common people as the follower.

A study on local leadership covers the scope of study on local leadership discourse in the form of variants in local leaders (Slamet-Velsink, 1998), their means to gain power including village head elections (Keeler, 1985; Wessing, 1987; Husken, 1998), the way they exercise and maintain their power (Antlov, 1998), and the advantages of having the power. The nature of power in the discourse on local leadership is substantive (compare Anderson, 1983) meaning power is status, administratively or symbolically, formally, and informally.

There are a number of variants in local leadership. *Jago* is an example. They are so called because of their supernatural or magical power. In colonial times, the *jago* served the *pangreh praja* (administrator or the colonial authority) by applying coercion to the village head, for example in tax collection (Slamet Velsink, 1998:34). Yet, they could also work for the village head. In a village head election in Kentungan, for example, a candidate used the services of *jago* to attract young voters (Keeler, 1985).

In Madiun at the end of the nineteenth century people would call *jago* as *blater*. By this they meant a clever person as a *blater* was

considered as possessing a great deal of knowledge about the outside world (Onghokham, 2003:142-143). Interestingly, in Madura the term *blater* carried negative connotations (scoundrel) (Rozaki, 2004).

It is debatable to include *jago* as a variant in local leaders because of their rank as a strong-arm man hired by the village local leaders (Slamet Velsink, 1998:35). However, *jago* played an important role in social movements in the village. For the reason, it is reasonable to label them as local leaders. The history of Indonesia has witnessed a significant role played by *Kutil*, a type of *jago*, who actively participated in the revolt known as the Tiga Daerah Affair against the Japanese occupation, *jawara*—a term for *jago* in Banten—who took an active part alongside with *kiai* and the local communist in the revolt of 1926 against the colonial rule (Slamet Velsink, 1998:36-37). The said examples indicate the *jago's* capacity in provoking the mass.

The second variant to discuss is the village head. It appears that there has been a shift in the role of a village head in villages and in cities. The village head, in Husken's term, is a local notable; different from one in cities who is more appropriately called the administrative village head. Whereas in cities he acquires only financial gains, in villages the village head acquires not only financial but also symbolic gains. The latter is more important than the former. This is because symbolic gains give a way to financial ones. Symbolic gains usually take the form of the villagers' obedience to the village head. Therefore, it is not surprising that candidates in a village head election will do whatever it takes to be in the prestigious position (Keeler, 1985; Wessing, 1987; Antlov, 1998; Husken, 1998).

The last variant at issue is the *kiai*, who take on the role as leader of *pesantren* or religious community in the village. As a leader, *kiai* is

considered as a role model in not only religious matters but also in other aspects of life, such as farming, trading, and raising cattle. In Cipari, Horikoshi (1987) has proven that *ajengan* (*kiai*) is an innovator in the communal life of the village. *Kiai* have managed to bring villagers to a better welfare state. Despite the achievement, interestingly, the traditional spirit of Islam is still preserved in the community. This is to a large extent in contrast to Geertz's finding (1960) that modernization has demanded Javanese *kiai* to objectivize Islam into a secular domain (compare Binder, 1960). Furthermore, Horikoshi denies the role of *kiai* as a cultural broker, claiming that *kiai* are a cultural innovator instead of a cultural broker (compare Press, 1969).

The terms cultural brokers and local leaders do not constitute a dichotomy. The former can play the role of the latter, and vice versa. This is supported by Dirjosanjoto's finding (1999) that *kiai* play a double role, as a cultural broker and local leader at the same time. In their capacity as a cultural broker, Dirjosanjoto (1999:250) suggests that *kiai*

> "find themselves at the crossroads between the profane and the religious. They should be able to continuously interpret the relationship of the two. The key to the continuity of *kiai's* authority in the eyes of Muslim society as a matter of fact lies in the mediating role they play in every religious aspect: between doctrines and practices, between God and human beings, and between the global Islamic civilization and the local Islamic tradition."

On the contrary, in their capacity as local leaders, the role of *kiai* lies on "the local political battleground" between tension and cooperation with other local leaders. This is evident in village head elections and general election campaign (Dirjosanjoto, 1999: 214-242).

In a simpler way, the previous researches have aroused the following questions: Is the discussion on cultural brokers limited to their relationship with an agent? If not, like in the case of the research conducted by Dirdjosanjoto (1999), is the discussion inseparable from national political factors? Although Horikoshi and Dirdjosanjoto criticize Geertz's argument on cultural brokers, they relate them to the national political constellation as the main factor in political changes in a village.

Unlike the previously mentioned researches, this research analyzes cultural brokers in a context of contestation, between two Islamic traditions of different perspectives to be precise. The research restrains itself from discussion on national politics that gives shape to the local politics. For the reason, rituals are used in the research as space of contestation between the two Islamic traditions. How traditions affect rituals and how rituals function as the space of contestation will be discussed in the following sub chapters on the theoretical background of tradition and ritual as the space of contestation over which cultural brokers meet.

The study on cultural brokers in this research involves local leadership in the institutionalization of tradition. There are two types of cultural brokers in the research: *kalebun* (the village head), and *langgar kiai* (the *kiai* who is in charge of a *langgar* within an area of *tanean*). Both are of the same religion. However, their perspectives on the religion differ. This is the point where analyzing a religion as, in Talal Asad's term, a discursive tradition, is important (Talal Asad, 1996:398).

To view Islam as a religion is to understand Islam as a tradition. Talal Asad suggests that tradition covers three aspects. The first is discourse on history. Talal Asad (1996:398) proposes that "A tradition

consists essentially of discourses, which seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purposes of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history." This statement confirms that tradition has a genealogy that can be traced through history.

Secondly, discourses about tradition are dynamic and concerned with practices in the past, present, and future. They root in preceding practices. Tradition is passed through transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. With the passing of time, diachronic transmission enables modification, transformation and even elimination of tradition. Additionally, the present practices of tradition relate closely to the institution and social conditions of the society in which they are practiced (Asad, 1996: 398).

Thirdly, when involving practices in society, religions are perceived as the social representation and cosmological structure of the society (Asad, 1996:394). With regard to the latter, tradition has two structural domains: social and cosmological. In relation to the former, tradition is closely associated to synchronic dimensions. In the latter domain, tradition relates to diachronic aspects, or definitively the historizing process of tradition. Religions are, therefore, practices in life that should be defined in particular social and historical contexts (compare Asad, 2002 and Bowen, 1998: 161-178).

A closer look at Asad's analysis of tradition suggests that tradition is closely related to structure. Interestingly, Asad puts traditions in a dynamic state, proposing that tradition can be perceived as structuration, of tradition in a discourse to be exact. However, as the discussion on tradition takes structure as its main focus, Asad seems to ignore the agent which forms the structure. In this research, despite

the difficulty in changing the structure of tradition, cultural brokers play their role in the existence of tradition.

Further, Asad explains that the process of structuration of tradition presupposes the relationship between power and resistance (1996:400-402). This is because tradition is heterogeneous. The heterogeneity of tradition, as elaborated by Asad, is affected by systems of discipline that transform throughout history (Asad, 1996:385). Systems of discipline, in turn, form knowedge in the society in which tradition is practiced.

The implementation of systems of discipline can be analyzed in rituals. It is important to notice that rituals in this context are representations of the space of institutionalization of tradition. In other words, quoting Asad (1993:78), rituals make available the space for a reading of a social institution.

To read rituals as a social institution is to view them as an inseparable part of society. It should be affirmed that rituals cannot be analyzed simply from an individual point of view despite the fact that rituals do affect individual matters.

Applying Marcel Mauss's concept of habitus, Asad further elaborates that rituals are not a medium of symbolic meanings, but rather embodied aptitudes. This is important because Asad maintains that the process of institutionalization in rituals goes with practices. Practices then result in particular religious experiences. The process undoubtedly implies a practical reason (Asad, 1993:72-77).

On one hand, practical reason presupposes the subject's consciousness to act. Subject is taken as autonomous and therefore able to act on his wish. However, Asad maintains that practical reason is

associated closely to historicizing practical knowledge (1993:76). In Gapurana, practical reason that has formed the structure of the rituals in fact prevents the local villagers from thinking logically. Cultural brokers then take advantage of the situation to serve their own interests.

Lastly, regarding tradition, Talal Asad (1996:402) argues that "Any representation of tradition is contestable". In relation to above explanation, contestable in this case refers to contestation in the spacial diachronic domain. In other words, tradition is viewed differently in different social contexts.

Gapurana serves as an example in which "contestable" elements apply. *Kalebun* and the *langgar kiai* have their respective domain of tradition. In order to simplify the terms, tradition of *kalebun* is used here to refer to the domain of *kalebun* and likewise, tradition of *langgar kiai* is used to call the domain of *langgar kiai*. Both are founded on Islam but of different perspectives.

In this research, discursive tradition is assumed not only to have understanding of genealogical process and of embodied and institutional practices but also to be placed in a situation of contestation. Contestation in this context presupposes not only diachronically ongoing tradition but also contestation between traditions practiced under different consciousness.

Tracing genealogical aspects, practices and institutions of tradition in Gapurana village seeks to answer the question of why the villagers of Gapurana pay more respect to the *kalebun* than to *langgar kiai*. The two traditions are placed in the context of a contestation in order to find in what way the villagers of Gapurana pay more respect to the *kalebun* than to *langgar kiai*

The research emphasizes on the importance of institution in building the structure of society in Gapurana and Madura in general. The analysis of institution indicates that a wedding reception, as institutional space of the *kalebun*, reproduces the *kalebun's* charisma in the same way a *langgar* reproduces the *kiai's*. For the reason, the discussion on charisma is not highlighted in this research.

Weber, quoted in Eisenstadt (1995:173), defines charisma as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set part from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional qualities". Thereby, charisma presupposes inherent quality in a person. In relation to institution, the definition offers two possibilities. First, a leader's charisma is "capital" in creating institutional space. Second, a leader has no need of institutional space. Instead, he relies solely on his charisma in reproducing power. The two possibilities correlate negatively with the result of this research.

This research also argues that Islam as a tradition is not to be understood merely as a system, say local one as opposed to the universal one, but rather Islam as understood by whom in what social context and practices. *Kalebun* and *langgar kiai* practice Islam in a different way for they belong to different social context and institution. The difference lies in different perspectives in understanding Islam and practicing Islamic teachings in particular contexts (Gapurana).

This research analyzes *kalebun's* and *langgar kiai's* different understanding of Islam that affects the practices of rituals in Gapurana. The result of the analysis is used in analyzing the contestation between traditions in Gapurana.

Endnote

[1]In Madura, *Haji* is a prestigious title only second to *Kiai*. However, Kuntowijoyo (2002: 333) argues that "A *Haji* wins more respect as an individual and especially for his profession than as a religious leader." The argument is supported by the finding of a research conducted by Ernst Spaan dan Aard Harvelt (2002). They found that *juragan* (merchant bosses) who contribute to socio-economic changes in Madurese society in Malang are *haji*.

CHAPTER II
GAPURANA AND THE GENEALOGICAL PROCESS

Bulan gerimis kembali
Seorang kelasi berbisik dalam nyanyi
Tinggal ngungun ngangap ombak
Tinggal kapal-kapal. Kapan bertolak
Abdul Hadi WM, "Kalianget"

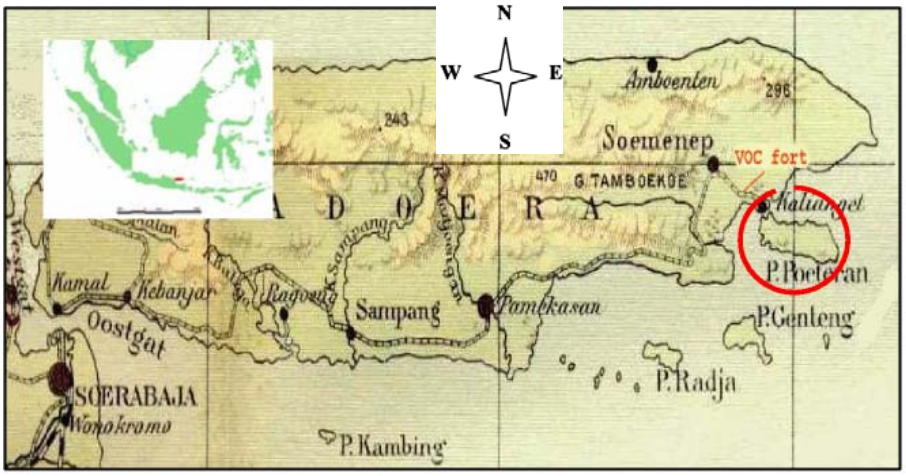
A. Gapurana

That bright morning the sun was shining beautifully upon Kalianget Strait. The bluish-green sea water refracted fauna and flora living deeper inside it. It was *nemor*, the dry season. Tides were high. The wind blew so strong.

Kalianget is never quiet. Two large ships sail back and forth carrying cars, trucks, motorcycles, and passengers leaving for or from Kalianget. There are also a number of small *prao* (sampan) competing to win passengers. Further north of the harbor is where fully-loaded large ships anchor, waiting for passengers to Sapudi, Kangean, Sapanjang, or Raas. Ferryboats heading to Banyuwangi, Situbondo, and Banjar(masin), Kalimantan are also available there.

The Kalianget-Talangoh ship had been fully loaded with passengers. Yet, it did not set sail. Passengers started to complain. They could not wait to reach home quickly. The distance between Kalianget and Talangoh was not that long. It would take only ten minutes to sail across. It was not worth the waiting. Twenty minutes had passed. "When are we leaving?," they were wondering.

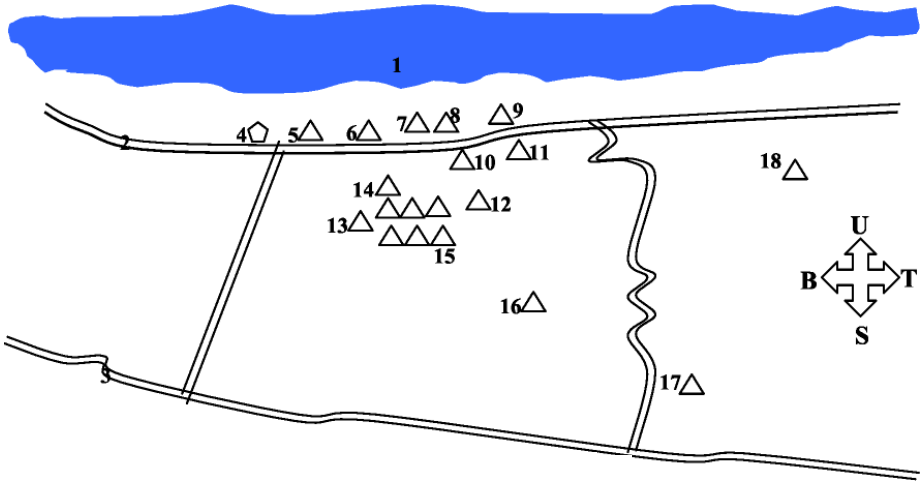
1. Location



Picture 1
Poteran Island

Gapurana lies in the center of Poteran Island. It is surrounded by other villages in the island. Compared to them, Gapurana covers the widest area and has the most population. The village is made up of fourteen *dusun* and approximately eight thousand households. On the west side lie Pangdagang Dusun and Pangloros Dusun, which border on Talangoh Village. On the east side, Bunis Dusun and Palasah Dusun border on Palasah Village. Jubluk Timur Dusun adjoins Essang Village and Cabbiya Village. Gapurana borders upon the sea on the north.

The main road that passes through the village is the Pulau Poteran Highway. The *lao'* main road is not as busy as the *daja* road. Only vendors heading to Kapo' Market in Cabbiya Village take the *lao'* road. Even though Kapo' Market is not very big in size, it provides quite a wide range of basic household necessities like spice, rice, corn, sugar, and even accomodates buying and selling of goats. Tuesday is the busiest day at the market—the *Sar Kapo'* day. Unlike the *lao'* road, the *daja* road is a *hantaran* road. Taxis take this road to carry passengers from Talangoh Market or Sumenep.



Picture 2
Gapurana Village

Legend:

1. Kalianget Strait
2. Northern main road
3. Southern main road
4. Village *masjid*
5. *Pak* Suqi's house
6. *Bu* Nady's house
7. *Pak* Sahun's house
8. *Bu* Sahweney's house
9. *Pak* Yo's Warung Soto
10. Village Hall (where I stayed)
11. *Kalebun's house*
12. *Pak* Ali's house
13. *Kiai* Rama's *langgar*
14. *Kiai* Rama's Madrasah Ibtidaiyah
15. *Kiai* Rama's house
16. *Mat* Tiken's house
17. *Mat* Darso's house
18. *Mat* Rowi's house

2. Settlement

High traffic along the northern main lane makes the settlement area dense with buildings. They stand one after another along the way to Kombang, with Poteran Village as an exception because it lies just by the sea. Houses on the upper road face south, and vice versa.

Buildings alongside the upper main road follow a line backwards into the sea. The space between the road and the sea is filled with seven to ten houses. There are only few *tanean lanjang* settlements in the area. As a matter of fact, not more than four houses are there. The family living in a house is related, though distantly, to the one living in the house behind or in front of theirs.

Land at the right or left side, and hardly the back and in front, of the houses is used for agriculture. Strangely enough, the owner of a house does not always own the land beside the house. The land owners might live further inland.

Inland here refers to settlements located in the middle part of Gapurana Village. Unlike those houses alongside the upper road, inland settlements adopt *kampong meji* and *tanean lanjang*. They are surrounded by agricultural land. To reach there, one has to take the footpaths between dryland fields without any street lighting at night. Houses stand side by side from east to west, facing each other and sharing a long yard. *Langgar* does not have its place in this *tanean* type of settlement.

Houses in Gapurana can be divided into three on the basis of its material: brick, ceramics, and bamboo. Brick houses are built of white sand taken from the seashore, cement, and white bricks made of limestone which are extracted from the ground and shaped into

rectangular blocks (30 cm x 20 cm x 5 cm in dimension). Houses built of ceramic tiles are categorized into those using ceramic floor tiles, those using ceramic wall tiles, and those using both ceramic floor and wall tiles. Houses made of bamboo are not painted in colors or simply white.

Brick houses belong to farmers and fishermen. Most of houses built of ceramic tiles are owned by employees, wholesalers (of *teri* fish, prawns, *perkutut* birds, cows, and peppers) and sundries retailers while bamboo houses belong to villagers without regular income, and elderly widows or widowers who are out of work. The three types of houses can be found in one settlement area in Gapurana. All are one-story houses, except Mat Darso's (the *pangelar*, Jubluk Timur *Dusun* headman and the village architect at the same time).

3. Agriculture

The fact that agricultural land in Gapurana covers larger area than the settlements does not indicate that the soil is fertile. Land surface appears brownish red.

Deeper layers of soil contain coral limestone. Land surface in inland area like in Palasah Dusun is covered with big river stones.

In order to be able to use land for agriculture, farmers need to give extra care. They need to plow the soil before and after planting. Tractors are not yet available in the village. Instead, they use cows to plow.

Seeds can only be planted only in wet soil. For the reason, intensive irrigation should be performed everyday or once in two days with the

aid of a diesel-powered engine used to pump water from a borehole. Water is then transported using plastic containers fastened together resembling a pipe. It takes three to four hours for the farmers to irrigate their field due to the scarcity of water.

Next is fertilization. Local farmers grow crops according to their habitual practice. Despite the availability of chemical fertilizers, they prefer to use cow, chicken, and goat manure. Only younger farmers are more likely to apply chemical fertilizers.

Plowing, irrigation, and application of fertilizers would be meaningless without the farmers' discipline. Early in the morning, when children head off to school, farmers are already working their fields. They take rest at 11, lay on their back, get up at 2 in the afternoon and continue working for the next four hours. Such discipline is a major contribution towards a good crop.

Habitual practices of planting affect farmers' selection of crops. Agricultural products of Gapurana are peppers, corn, watermelon, and tobacco for betel quid. When mango harvest time comes, local farmers sell their crops outside the village even as far as Jogja. They sell the whole crops to local wholesalers at around one thousand rupiahs. Ten years ago, money earned from a pepper harvest was worth a house with brick walls. Nowadays, wholesalers buy a crop of peppers at Rp1,400.00 per kilo while mangoes and groundnuts at Rp1,000.00 per kilo and tobacco for betel quid at Rp3,000.00 to Rp4,000.00 per kilo. Corn is sold to wholesalers at Rp6,000.00 per three *gantang* (1 *gantang* is equal to 3.5 kgs). Watermelons are sold at a higher price i.e. Rp850.00 per kilo while a watermelon weighs about 10 to 13 kgs.

In the case of watermelon harvest, wholesalers come from town to Gapurana to buy and transport them. One unit of land can yield 8 – 10 tons of watermelon crops out of 10 handfuls of seeds (@ Rp40,000.00). Pepper crops are bought by village wholesalers. Pak Makwat is one of them. Once in a week he sells pepper crops to Pamekasan. Unlike watermelon farmers, farmers who grow peppers only gain profit of Rp100,000.00 per harvest.

Corn is a different case. Farmers consume it as daily staple food. Some mix it with rice. In my opinion, a mix of rice and corn tastes really different from rice. Rice of good quality cost Rp15,000.00 per three *gantang*.

4. Fisheries

The majority of the villagers of Gapurana earn a living as farmers; some of them as both farmers and fishermen. It may also be that husbands fish in the sea while wives work in their fields. This is the case with Pak Sahun and Bu Sahun. The former is 71 years old while the latter 68.

Early in the morning after doing the *subuh* prayer, Pak Sahun head off to the sea. At 10 he comes home to take some rest. When he does not get too tired, Pak Sahun helps her wife water or mow the grass in the field in front of the house. After having lunch and performing the noon prayer, Pak Sahun returns to fish in the sea until 5 in the afternoon.

Pak Sahun may catch a lot of fish one day but not another. Broadly speaking, fishermen of Gapurana have the advantage of selling their catch to local wholesalers every day. Bu Sahun then sells the shrimp

to Bu Nadi at Rp20,000.00 to Rp25,000.00 per kilo. Bu Nady always stands by in front of her house with a scale and pails filled with ice cubes.

When Pak Sahun can catch a lot of *teri* fish, his wife sells them to local *teri* fish houses at Rp11.000,00 per kilo. Local fish houses process and produce *teri* fish products for local consumption, unlike those in Essang Village, where fish products are intended for exportation. Pak Haji Suqi is a wholesaler of *teri* as export commodities. Like Bu Nady, he is also ready with a scale when evening comes. *Teri* fish stocks are afterward sorted out at the fish house in Essang and in Sumenep then transported by a ship to Japan through Gresik.

Pak Suqi adds further that he buys *teri* from fishermen at Rp15,000.00 per kilo. There is an unwritten agreement between the fish house management, Pak Suqi, and local fishermen. To make fishermen sell their *teri* exclusively to Pak Suqi, the fish house management gives some 'guarantee' money to Pak Suqi who in turn distributes it to local fishermen. Every fisherman receives Rp3,000,000.00. Now there are around one hundred fishermen who sell their *teri* catch to Pak Suqi. Pak Suqi does not make profit of vending *teri* to the fish house. He gets a commission from the fish house instead. "How much is it?", I asked him. He simply replied, " Well, enough to buy myself daily cigarettes." Every day he smokes three packs of Surya 12, @ Rp6,000.00.

Still in Pak Sahun's case, catch of big fish, small squid, or crabs is peddled door to door to neighbors by his children. Fish are sold at Rp3,000.00-Rp5,000.00 while squid and crabs Rp15,000.00-Rp20,000.00. They are already sold out before dusk.

Types of fishermen's catch depend also on the season. Pak Sahun recognizes two seasons: *nimbere'* and *nemor* (compare Stenross, 2007). *Nimbere'* is the rainy season which lasts from December until April. During this season, shrimp dominates the catch. *Nemor* lasts from May until around December. *Teri* dominates the catch during this dry season.

5. Education

Educational facilities are available in Gapurana. They range from elementary schools (SD), junior secondary schools (SMP), and senior secondary schools (SMA) in Talangoh Subdisctrict or Kalianget Subdictrict. Nonetheless, habits and economic conditions hinder education. The practice of early marriage leads to school dropouts. Financial hardships force children leave school. Parents who can afford education send their children to a vocational school, academy of nursing or state administration.

6. Classification of Villagers

Based on my observation, villagers of Gapurana can generally be classified into two i.e. the *kene'* (ordinary) and the *dume'* (local elite) (compare Wiyata, 2002:45-51). However, the middle class does exist. The *kene'* are not very well-educated while are submissive to the local elites. This social class is represented by farmers and fishermen. Many of them are illiterate; some are elementary school graduates with a diploma in the *Kejar Paket* A equivalency program. On the contrary, the *dume'* are highly educated

The middle class is composed of prominent figures respected for their special powers (e.g. *dukun*) or physical strength (e.g. *jago*) and school teachers. *Kalebun* maintains good relations with this class.

7. Language

Low Madurese *(enje' – iyeh)* is the language of daily life in Gapurana. Unlike in Sampang, Bangkalan, and Pamekasan, the dialect spoken in Gapurana lengthens the sound of the last syllable in a conversation. For example, "*Billa datang? Lakunna*" ("When did you arrive? Yesterday"). The last word is also pronounced unclearly. The villagers of Gapurana replace the sound of a fricative with 'a'. Therefore instead of *billa(h)*, *be 'en*, and *be 'ne*, they pronounce *billa*, and *be 'na* respectively.

The structure of the language follows the predicate-subject rule as seen in "*Bedeh Darso?*" ("Is Darso here?"). This is very apparent when they speak in Indonesian. For instance, "*Nanti malam kamu dijemput sama saya ke Asta Yusuf ya?*" ("Tonight you will be picked up by me to Asta Yusuf, okay?"). The language is in the passive voice. This indirectly represents their tendency to be passive and submissive.

Children from a common family addresses their father and mother as *Pak* and *Ma'*, respectively, instead of *mama 'na be 'na* which is the rudest term of address in Madura. Unlike children from a common family, *Kalebun*'s children address their parents as Papa and Mama, respectively.

8. Communications Technology

"We did not have electricity until ten years ago," Pak Awang says. For lighting needs, the rich used a diesel-powered engine while the majority of villagers used oil lamps. As darkness fell at nights, villagers did nothing but lazed around the house.

Back then, cars were rare as big ships had not been operating yet. To cross into the main island, a car was carried using two small boats. Horse carts were used for inter-village transportation. Nowadays, big ships have been operating. There are only five horse carts left as they have been replaced by L300 taxi cars which are faster and can take more passengers.

Electricity has changed the way villagers spend their sparetime. Following the *maghrib* prayer is sitting in front of the television. Due to availability of electricity also, television consumption has increased. Before, only the have who could afford a television; now, almost every house has its own television set equipped with parabolic antennas.

Electricity also gave rise to the use of cell phones. Cell phone providers have installed their towers in Poteran. Shops selling phone credit vouchers and cell phones are going like hot cakes in the island. Almost everyone in Gapurana has a cell phone. However, cell phones have not replaced the use of walky-talkies. Villagers call them *kontek-kontekan*. This communications device is simply made, of kids' walky-talky connected with a yellow wire. Email wire is installed in the top of a tree and connected to the transmission wire. It can reach quite a wide range. *Mas* Yo, one of walky-talky enthusiasts, says that every day he communicates by "*kontek-kontekan*" with his friends in the city of Sumenep.

B. *Kalebun* and *Langgar Kiai:* The Past and Present

The present-day roles of *kalebun* and *langgar kiai* in Madura, and Sumenep in particular, owe their existence to genealogical conditions in colonial times. This chapter elaborates on a portrayal of *kalebun* and *langgar kiai* in colonial times and later in present time, particularly in Gapurana. The present conditions undoubtedly rooted in the past.

1. Colonial Times

a. Kiai

Sumenep Kingdom played a major role in shaping tradition throughout Madura in general, and Sumenep in particular. The structure of buildings like Sumenep Palace and Asta Tinggi (Sumenep royal cemetery) speculatively leads to a conclusion that Sumenep had a contact with Hindu tradition. The presence of a *langgar* in every *tanean* (settlement area) serves as other evidence that can be compared to the existence of a *pura* in a Hindu home (Mansurnoor, 1990:7; see also Van der Veur, 2007). This is further indicated by *mamaca* (tradition of reciting stories from Mahabarata and Ramayana), *tayuban*, and people's strong beliefs in the spirit of ancestors as well as the use of *primbon*, like *Betaljemur*, as a guidance on holding a special occasion (e.g. a wedding ceremony).

The influence of Hindu tradition is more apparent if we trace the history back to the relationship between Madura and Majapahit Kingdom. Madura played a great role in the founding of Majapahit Kingdom. It was Arya Wiraraja (1269-1292) who gave major contribution to the establishment of the kingdom. This leads to an assumption that splendors of Buddhist-Shiva Majapahit Kingdom cannot be

separated from the influence of Madura (Mansurnoor, 1990:6; de Jonge, 2004).

The relations Majapahit Kingdom and Madura had can now be seen as center-periphery relations. This was why when Islam took hold of Majapahit Kingdom, Madura felt the impact. Islamic teachers such as Sunan Ampel, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Giri took an active role in converting Majapahit's territories to Islam (Mansurnoor, 1990:9).

There are two factors contributing to the success of the Islamization in Madura. First is the establishment of stronger ties between Demak Kingdom, the successor to Majapahit Kingdom, and Sumenep Kingdom. Such an establishment accelerated the conversion of royal elite members to Islam. It took place, among others, through marriages. Given as an example, the marriage between the daughter of the last Sultan of Demak and the prince of Pamadekan, Sampang, Madura (Mansurnoor, 1990:9). The marriage yielded a generation of royal elite members who were knowledgeable about Islam called *bindara*.

The second factor is the positive relationship maintained between the *rato* (king) and the *kiai*. It is important to point out that before the coming of Islam there had been a huge gap between the Sumenep royal elite members and the local *kiai*. On one side were the aristocrats; on the other, *kiai* as rural religious leader actively developing religious teaching in the countryside (Nagtegaal, 1995:49-66), as well as leader in social-related issues (Mansurnoor, 1990:9-12). After the arrival of Islam, *rato* became more popular with the people through the roles of *kiai*.

The roles of *kiai* in the development of Islamic education and social empowerment cannot be separated from *pesantren*. *Pesantren* is like

kiai's kingdom, which at the same time serves as a center of educational activities for the people. This is where institutionalization of charisma began. Villagers in the vicinity of a *pesantren* are obedient to *kiai*. And *kiai*, quoting Iik Mansurnoor (1995:45), enjoy high prestige and wide popularity among the population.

As explained above, the Islamization of Madura is related to the process of people's empowerment. With the arrival of Islam, *rato* became aware of his role to serve the people. *Rato,* in turn, should pay respect to *kiai*. The polarization of secular *rato* and religious *kiai* then disappeared. In fact, as time went by *rato* was a descendant of *kiai*.

The existence of Islam in Madura has therefore been strengthened until the present. The establishment of *pesantren,* particularly in Sumenep mainland, was nourished by the kingdom. Nowadays, local leaders could be *kiai* of *pesantren* in Sumenep.

It is important to point out that here two types of *kiai* are distinguished i.e. *pesantren kiai* and *langgar kiai*. *Pesantren kiai* refers to *kiai* who runs *pesantren*. The "post" of *pesantren kiai* is passed from generation to generation and handed down only to the *kiai's* direct descendants. There are many *pesantren* in Sumenep. The biggest two are Pesantren Guluk-Guluk and Pesantren Al Amin.

Langgar kiai runs a *langgar* in a *tanean*. He graduated from a *pesantren*. That is why *langgar kiai* does not have as strong influence as *pesantren kiai* does. Nonetheless, *langgar kiai* does have stronger influence than the local *kalebun* does.

b. *Kalebun*

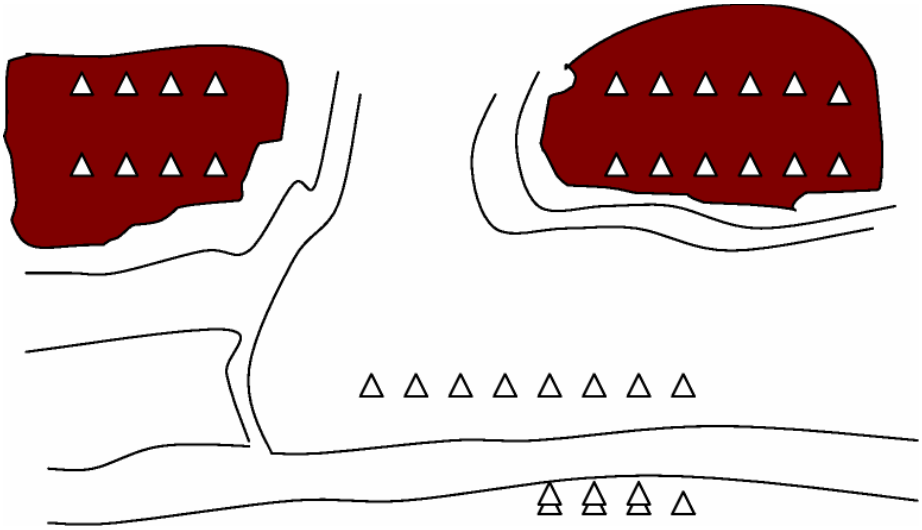
The Dutch East India Company (VOC) took hold of the eastern part of Madura when Mataram Kingdom was expanding its territory in 1705. The VOC interfered in the process of expansion. They managed to divide Mataram Kingdom into two. The success of the VOC was rewarded by the King of Kartasura with authority over Pamekasan and Sumenep under an agreement with the following statement: "Herewith His Majesty officially grant and hand over Sumenep and Pamekasan in the east (sic) of Madura to the authority of VOC (de Jonge, 1989b:8).

The VOC gave "autonomy" to Sumenep Kingdom. The term "autonomy" is indeed debatable, for the VOC obligated the kingdom to pay taxes, like contingency taxes. The taxes set by the VOC were as follows: 80 *koyan* of green soybean, 700 *pikul* of coconut oil, 30 *pikul* of palm sugar, 20 *pikul* of cotton thread like the sample given, 30 *pikul* of dried meat, and 1000 dried fish (de Jonge, 1989b:9-14). The tax system affected the hegemonic patterns in Sumenep Kingdom.

As a compensation for the heavy task of collecting taxes, the VOC rewarded top administrators of Sumenep Kingdom with some wage called *apanage*. This meant that they were given authority to impose more taxes from the common people in addition to the obligatory ones paid to the VOC. Lower administrators were given *bengkok* land, a small unit of dryland field (de Jonge, 1989b:9-14).

The tax system had an impact on the social structure of the people. In the early days, there had not been a good organizational system of society in Sumenep in particular, and Madura in general due to the *tanean lanjang* settlement pattern. Houses clustered in a dry field. One

tanean consisted of 5-60 related families. Later on, administrators of Sumenep Kingdom formed a new organizational system of society. The intent was to make tax collection easier (de Jonge, 1989b:5-10; Kuntowijoyo, 2002; Wiyata, 2002).



Picture 3
Tanean Lanjang[1]

Administrators of Sumenep Kingdom then appointed *lurah* (head of village administration) whose duty was to facilitate service—performed by the people to the top administrators—particularly when they visited to the village to collect *apanage*, for example by supplying grass to feed their cattle. In addition to *lurah*, there was a local traditional leader at *tanean* level, called *kalebun*. *Kalebun* was a spiritual leader who led special events like the annual rituals. Top administrators did not really care about the existence of *kalebun*. Moreover, people paid more respect to *lurah* than to *kalebun* as *lurah* is "representative" of top administrators at village level (Touwen-Bouwsma, 1989:138-144).

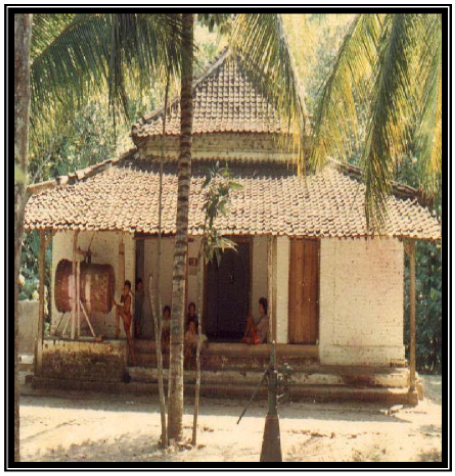
2. The Present

a. *Langgar Kiai* in Gapurana

Langgar kiai is addressed to a religious (Islamic) leader at *tanean* level. A number of *langgar kiai* are usually appointed by the village head to be *imam* or be in charge of the local *masjid*. It is important to mention that a village *masjid* has been officially recognized by the local Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI) as a place to pray; and thereby to perform the Friday prayers. This is different from a *langgar* which serves as a Muslim place of worship at *tanean* level and is not used for the Friday prayers.



Picture 4a.
Masjid



Picture 5b.
Langgar

There are five *langgar kiai* who serve on the council of *masjid* administrators in Gapurana. Structurally, the council is under the authority of the *kalebun*. The five *langgar kiai* do not own a *pesantren*. However, they run a *madrasah ibtida'iyah*, a Muslim elementary school, at *dusun* level. Among them, *Kiai* Rama has the strongest influence for he is a direct descendant of the first Islamic preacher in Gapurana.

The first Islamic preacher in Gapurana came from a *pesantren* in Kalianget, to the east of Poteran Island. His father was not a *kiai*. Consequently he could not become a *pesantren kiai*. He started to preach Islam after graduating from the *pesantren*.

Being a son of the first Islamic preacher in the village, *Kiai* Rama wanted to follow in his father's footsteps. *Kiai* Rama's father managed to introduce education based on the Qur'an and Hadith. It can be said that such education has been firmly instilled in the villagers' cognitive space even before the establishment of public schools.

Bu Sahweney (aged 40) is illiterate. However, she can read the Qur'an fluently. This has something to do with her childhood. When the *kalebun* came to pick little Sahweney up to go to school, his father hid her in the dryland field. He told her, "*tak kera dadi apa keya, ngaji bhai, abajang, ngare' bhai, sop aje kenyang*" ("What do you think you're gonna be in the future? Just learn to recite the Qur'an, pray, and feed the animals with grass to keep our stomach full.")

The phenomenon has inspired *Kiai* Rama. He develops at least two strategies in teaching the local people about Islam. First, along with his two siblings he runs the *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* his father built. Every afternoon they and some other teachers give a basic lesson about Islam to children aged 6-12 years. Second, he leads rituals like *yassinan* (recitation of Sura Yassin) every Thursday evening and *dhiba 'an* (reading of the Prophet Muhammad's life story) every Tuesday afternoon. In those rituals, *Kiai* Rama preaches about commands and prohibitions in Islam.

Practices in the past have also shaped *Kiai* Rama's opinion on political *kiai*. Besides, the fact that in Sumenep mainland *langgar kiai*

has stronger influence than *kalebun* has led the *langgar kiai* to institutionalize Islam according to their own perspectives in Gapurana. For that reason, *langgar kiai* in Gapurana want to adopt the concept of political *kiai*, although at village domain, like what has happened in the past and present (at regional level).

As a matter of fact, *langgar kiai* in Gapurana have taught Islam according to their perspectives. However, the absence of *pesantren* makes it difficult for the *kiai* to accomplish their goals. *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*, which is a reproduction of Islamic educational institutions, does not seem to be able to safeguard against the negative effects of *kalebun's* practices. This is because children only attend *Kiai* Rama's *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* until they are twelve years old (entering the junior secondary school). The end of such Islamic education thereby ends the institutionalization of *langgar kiai*'s practices.

b. *Kalebun* of Gapurana

The title of *kalebun* in Gapurana is hereditary. The present *kalebun* is the fifth generation. The first lived about one hundred twenty years ago. The following about the first *kalebun* is told by the former (the fourth) *kalebun*:

> "One afternoon, as usual, my great grandfather went to gather grass for the cattle. When he was picking up the chopped grass came a group of villagers. It turned out that they came to ask him to be their leader. My great grandfather was willing to be their leader under one condition: only his descendant would always be the next *kalebun*. They agreed and, Alhamdulillah, until now the title is held by his offspring.

The story is passed from generation to generation. In fact, when the village elections have gone according democratic rules, the story

is used as a political instrument to remind the villagers of their great great grandfathers' promise.

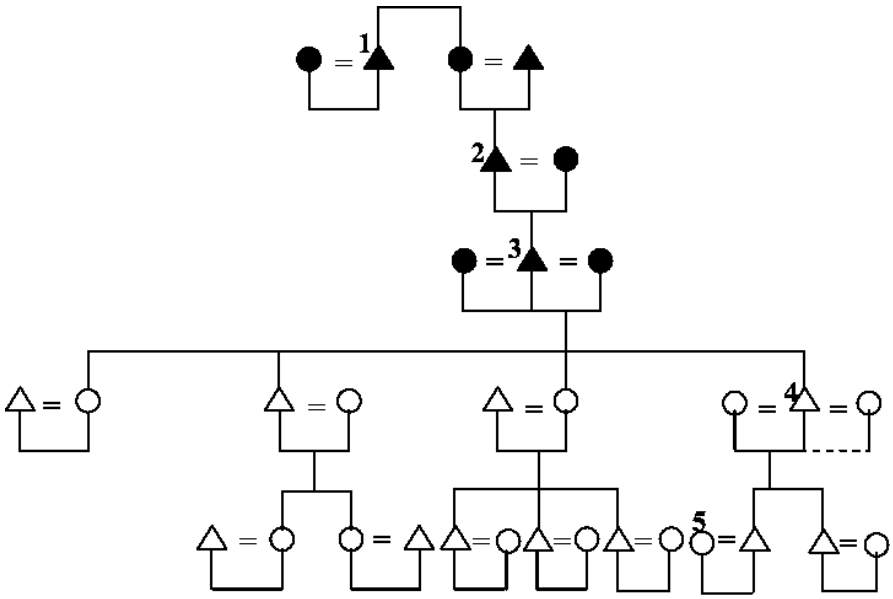
In exercising the power, the *kalebun* apply the *celurit* philosophy. The philosophy originates from the activity during which the first *kalebun* was appointed as the village head. He was cutting grass using a *celurit*. Holding the power like holding a *celurit* means sticking to the main goals and does not hesitate in "cutting" anything that stands in the way. This leads to dictatorship. According to villagers of Gapurana, the third and the fourth *kalebun* can be said as the most dictatorial ones. In other words, they ruled by coercion.

Unlike the previous four, the fifth *kalebun* is female. Interestingly, she is not a direct descendant of the previous *kalebun*. She is the wife of the fourth *kalebun's* son. Her husband calls this phenomenon as *numpang katera 'an.* He himself cannot be the fifth *kalebun* because he works as a government employee.

Numpang katera'an is actually the fifth *kalebun's* strategy to preserve the continuity of *kalebun* generation. Even though it is the wife who officially rules, all policies and political decisions result from discussion with the husband. However, decisions on specific policies and strategies are made by herself. In the event of dispute, rarely can the husband force his views on her.

As a cultural broker, significant roles of the fifth *kalebun* are apparent in the fields of education, health, and women's role. In terms of education, the *kalebun* is willing to visit houses advising parents to send their children to the nearest school. She also makes an effort to get students scholarships by submitting proposals to the regional government. Similarly, the *kalebun* applies for free hospital treatment for the poor.

Not only through provision of free education and health treatment, but also through dissemination of information has the *kalebun* tried to improve the villagers' understanding of education and health. She often invites local experts in related matters. This is a very positive effort considering that the villagers' understanding of education is still very poor.



Picture 5.
The *Kalebun*'s Pedigree Chart

Kev:

married to	1 the first generation of *kalebun*
lover	2 the first generation of *kalebun*
deceased female	3 the first generation of *kalebun*
living female	4 the first generation of *kalebun*
living male	5 the first generation of *kalebun*
deceased male	

In relation to woman empowerment, the *kalebun* is introducing the importance of having a good personality. She teaches, among others, how to dress well, how to cook broth and also develops understanding of women's rights; for example, in the event of divorce among young couples

There was a young couple attending a divorce hearing at the court. The husband filed for divorce from his wife because she failed to do her duty to pick him up after work. The wife said it was because at that time she was sick. The husband did not listen to her. At the hearing, the wife agreed to divorce on one condition: the husband would pay her alimony for the next three months, amounting to three million rupiahs. The husband bargained for two hundred thousand rupiahs. The wife was undecided. Then the *kalebun* gave her support and explained her about the wife's rights. Finally she insisted on her claim.

3. Sumenep and Gapurana: A (dis)Continuity

As explained previously, the existence of *kiai* in Madura depends on the availability of institutional space in which they can reproduce their influence on the society. While *bindara (rato* of kiai descent) needed the palace to strengthen his influence on the society, *pesantren kiai* and *langgar kiai* need *pesantren* and *langgar*, respectively.

In Sumenep mainland, the relations between a *bindara* and *keraton* correlate with those between a *kiai* and his *pesantren*. *Kiai* is equivalent to *bidara*, and thereby *keraton* is to *pesantren*. The existence of *keraton* and *pesantren* as institutional space has an effect on the obedience of the common people and *santri* to the *bindara* and the *kiai* respectively.

However, that is not the case in Gapurana. It is more appropriate to correlate between *rato* and *kalebun*. *Oreng kene'* show their obedience to the *kalebun* in a way that *oreng kene'* do to the *rato.* Some set their best crops aside for the *kalebun*, others made a gesture of respect when they present themselves before the *kalebun* or beg leave. They even get off their bicycle or motorcycle when they are passing by the *kalebun*'s house. It was not until a few years ago that some of the *kalebun*'s domestic helpers got paid, with Rp75, 000.00 per month for working from dawn until 9 p.m. They are willing to do it as a token of allegiance to the *kalebun*.

The coming of Islam indeed brought changes to the social condition in Sumenep Kingdom but not in every aspect of life, particularly in Gapurana. Hindu beliefs were still practiced as they had become a tradition. For example, the practice of *tayuban* in a wedding party.

Endnote

[1]The picture illustrates a *tanean*. One area of *tanean* usually borders upon a unit of dryland field belonging to a family. Triangles represent houses aligned in an east-west direction in a *tanean*. A *langgar* is situated in the westernmost side of the settlement. The westernmost house belongs to the oldest respected member of the community while adjoining eastward are houses of his daughters.

CHAPTER III
TWO TRADITIONS

As elaborated in the first chapter, Talal Asad views tradition as a discourse. An effective discourse demands contestation or the so-called politics of tradition. In turn, politics of tradition manifests in the politics of ritual, which is seen as a representation of tradition.

Ursula Rao (2007:159), politics of ritual arise from three factors. First, ritual involves authority in particular social contexts. Second, ritual might serve as an alternative to transform social structures and as well as to construct political relations. Third, ritual is part of a tradition of patented cultural patterns. Those elements give rise to a question: does politics of ritual run on a normative course, in the sense that it empowers common people, or on a practical course, meaning it presupposes a hidden interest, or both normatively and practically?

This chapter seeks to answer the question by analyzing it in a contestation between two traditions. In the case of Gapurana, the writer of the research divides tradition into two domains: that of *langgar kiai* and that of *kalebun*.

How do the two cultural brokers compete in two different traditions?

A. *The Tradition of Langgar Kiai*

1. *Dhiba'an*, Friday Prayers, and *Yassinan*

"Let's go to Bu Sopiah's house" Bu Sahweney says.

"Okay," Tik replies.

It was Thursday afternoon. Having done the *zuhur* prayer, the women of Gapurana put on a long-sleeve shirt and headscarf then headed off to Bu Sopiah's house. Every Thursday they attend *dhiba 'an,* as the local people call it, or *burdah.*

Burdah originally is a poem in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. In Gapurana, *burdah* is is used to call a routine Islamic gathering attended by women. The practice has been held generation after generation since Islam was introduced to the village. It is in this gathering that they also hold *arisan*.

That afternoon, not more than twenty came. The rest excuse themselves for not attending because they had to help prepare for a wedding reception to be held next Saturday at Mat Tiken's house. The *burdah*, however, was not cancelled. It began shortly after the arrival of the *langgar kiai*.

"Assalamu 'alaikum," the *kiai* opened the *burdah*. It was followed by the following verses chanted by the ladies present at the occasion:

Mawlaya salli wa sallim da-Iman abadan
'Ala habibika khayril khalqi kullihimi (2x)
Muhammadun sayyidul kawnayni wath-thaqalain
Wal fariiqaini min 'urbin wa min 'ajami (3x)
Huwal habibul ladhi thurja shafa?athuhu
Likulli hawlin minal ahwali muq-thahami (3X)
Ya Rabbi bil Mustafa balligh maqasidana (3X)
Waghfir-lana ma mada, Ya wasi 'al karami

Some of them sang the verses with their eyes closed and the body moved from left to right. Some others seemed to be busy flipping through the book containing the *burdah* verses. The *kiai's* voice followed the chant.

Prayers were then said by the *kiai*. The audience joined him by saying amen. The *burdah* continued with a sermon. They helped themselves with some food served by the host. The audience listened to the sermon with much enthusiasm. Every now and then they laughed at the *kiai's* jokes.

The sermon that very afternoon was about the importance of *amar ma 'ruf nahi munkar,* promoting the good and deterring the bad. The *kiai* mentioned expensive wedding parties in Gapurana as an example of the latter. He strongly reminded his audience that marriage was not prohibited. In fact, in certain cases it became obligatory. However, it was the celebration that one should carefully consider.

As the day was getting late in the afternoon, the women started to talk among themselves. The *kiai* ended his sermon and excuse himself. Soon the women were engaged in the *arisan*. That day it was Ni who won the *arisan*. But the money was then borrowed by Bu Sahweney, her mother.

Another house, Mat Tiken's to be exact, seemed to be busy too. A number of men were setting up a tent while some others decorating the stage. The women were at the kitchen cooking and chatting with each other. Things were lively as night was approaching until the next day came.

I rushed to the *langgar* of the *kiai* in the afternoon. It was Friday, the day on which Muslims perform the Friday prayers in unison. The

langgar was only big enough for about fifty persons. I did not understand why on my way a local villager told me not to go to the *langgar*.

The Friday prayer time came. After the call to prayer had been sung, the *kiai* started to give a sermon. Like the day before, it was still about *amar ma 'ruf nahi munkar.* Somehow I could feel that he spoke the issue in a louder voice this time.

The *kiai* straightforwardly prohibited *tayuban* in a wedding reception. *Tayuban* belonged to *maksiat*, forbidden in Islam and therefore sinful, told the *kiai*. The dance could stimulate sexual desire in somebody. This was not allowed to happen because the dancers were not their *muhrim* (spouse).

On my way back, I came across to the very person who told me not to go to the *langgar.* This person said that it had only been a year since the *kiai* held the Friday prayer in the *langgar*. This person pursued that, according to Imam Syafi'i, it was forbidden in Islam to hold the Friday prayers in two different places within the same kampong.

In Gapurana, *masjid* and *langgar* are not interchangeable. The term *masjid* refers to a Muslim place of worship formally and legally recognized by the Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI). This is different from *langgar* which serves as a Muslim place of worship at *tanean* level, or more appropriately called a family *langgar*. A *langgar* is often used as a reception place. The difference between the two is that a *masjid* should serve as a place to perform the Friday prayers while a *langgar* not (compare Saxebol, 2002:7 1-72).

The *kiai* claims that he holds the Friday prayers in his *langgar* because he once dreamt that the Sumenep District Leader comes to his house and performs the Friday prayers in his *langgar*. Regarding the order not to hold the Friday prayers in *langgar*, he explains that to

perform the Friday prayers in *langgar* is part of democracy. Nobody can ever forbid one to do so.

The evening came. I watched the *kiai* teaching children (aged 7-12) how to recite the Qur'an and giving them basic knowledge about Islam. He also taught them *sholawatan* (chant in praise of the Prophet Muhammad).

Children of the village are good at reciting the Qur'an. However, after they graduate from the elementary nothing follows up the activity. Only few female *santr*i regularly do the *tadarus* (recital of the Qur'an) after the *subuh* prayers.

As the night was approaching, the *kiai* hurried to Pak Ali's house. There, a number of men had been waiting for him with the *Yassin* book on their hand. "*Malebet* (please come in)," greeted Pak Ali as he saw the *kiai* at the door. After everyone was there, the *kiai* led them reciting the Sura Yassin (one of the *suras* in the Qur'an) while the rest followed him. The reading lasted for about thirty minutes. Then they helped themselves with the meal prepared by the host. That was all. The *kiai* did not give any religious talk.

The night was getting late. The wind blew stronger. The dawn then came breaking in. After performing the *subuh* prayers, some female *santri* came to the *kiai's langgar*. Their voice reciting the Qur'an was heard, until the sun came out shining.

2. The Tradition of *Langgar* Kiai in Practice

Dhiba 'an and the reading of Surat *Yassin* have been maintained since Islam was introduced to Gapurana by the father of the present *langgar kiai*. At that time, the village was led by the third *kalebun*.

Initially, the practical reason why villagers came to *dhiba 'an* and the reading of Sura *Yassin* was to ask for the *langgar kiai's* blessing and prayers for their wish. They would see the results in a matter of days.

With the passing of time, it appears that *dhiba 'an* and the reading of Sura *Yassin* have undergone a shift in meaning. The villagers do not feel guilty or ashamed of not attending them. To attend or not makes no difference to them. *Dhiba 'an* and the reading of Sura *Yassin* mean no more than rituals passed from generation to generation in Gapurana.

Women in the village take *arisan* more seriously than they take *dhiba 'an*. As a matter of fact, *arisan* is the reason they attend *dhiba 'an*. They hope to win the lot or borrow money from the winner.

To *Kiai* Rama, *dhiba 'an* and the reading of Sura *Yassin* are space for the *langgar kiai* to communicate with the villagers. There in the institutional space, the *langgar kiai* can deliver his message. For the reason, they can serve as a medium which brings *Kiai* Rama together with the villagers. However, as the institutionalization of *Kiai* Rama's teachings does not run effectively, the villagers of Gapurana take rituals merely as meaningless routine.

The holding of Friday prayers is an even more complicated matter. In Gapurana, the holding of Friday prayers really is space to bond social solidarity as almost all men in the village attend it, including the *kalebun's* husband. After performing the prayers, they are engaged in conversation at the terrace of the *masjid*. It is important to point out that the council of *masjid* administrators does not allow women to perform the Friday prayers at the village *masjid*.

Kalebun serves as advisor on the council of *masjid* administrators and at the same time is the one who gives approval to activities involving the masjid. Activities at the *masjid* should be approved by the *kalebun* before they can be carried out. If approval is given then the activities can be conducted. Otherwise, they are to be replaced with other activities.

After *Kiai* Rama opens his *langgar* for the Friday prayers, the villagers of Gapurana are split into two: those who perform the Friday prayers at the village masjid and those who perform the Friday prayers at *Kiai* Rama's *langgar*. This implies that the holding of Friday prayers at *Kiai* Rama's *langgar* in fact breaks the solidarity among the villagers.

Nevertheless, *Kiai* Rama's *langgar* is not limited to a particular group of villagers or his followers. He welcomes everyone and even recommends women to perform the Friday prayers at his *langgar*; a situation hardly found in the village *masjid.*

Those who perform the Friday prayers at the village *masjid* argue that the Friday prayers are only accepted if they are performed at a *masjid*. Others prefer *Kiai* Rama's *langgar* because it is closer. Most of villagers who perform the Friday prayers at the *langgar* are aged people and *Kiai Rama's* relatives.

The holding of Friday prayers at *Kiai* Rama's *langgar* led the council of *masjid* administrators to seclude him. The congregation of the village *masjid* does the same by keeping themselves apart from him and his activities.

However, the *kalebun* is not among them. The fact that the *kalebun*'s children are allowed to join the evening *ibtidaiyah* class at *Kiai* Rama's *langgar* may serve as evidence.

Based on my observation, *Kiai* Rama holds the Friday prayers at his *langgar* to criticize the council of *masjid* administrators as well as the *kalebun*. In his opinion, the council of *masjid* administrators have let immoral acts live and they are afraid of the *kalebun*. He disagrees that some members of the council do not have the courage to oppose against the practice of *tayuban* in Gapurana.

Kiai Rama's argument about democracy is made up as an excuse to rival the *kalebun's* authority. Democracy was an issue at that time. About a year ago, a village head election was held democratically, meaning through a direct-election system. Using the issue of democracy, the *langgar kiai* tries to justify the holding of Friday prayers at his *langgar*.

B. The Tradition of the *Kalebun*

1. Mat Tiken Hosted *Gabay*

The sun was shining upon Gapurana. I heard *dangdut* songs from the eastern direction, from *Mat* Tiken's house. It was Saturday, a joyful day for *Mat* Tiken's daughter, though may not be for *Mat* Tiken himself. For a month had *Mat* Tiken prepared for his daughter's wedding reception.

In the early days of the month, *Mat* Tiken welcomed relatives and close neighbors in *melekan*, meaning staying up until late at night. The purpose was to discuss all preparation needed for the wedding reception. The more the neighbors came to join *melekan*, the higher prestige the host had.

It actually took only a week to discuss about the preparation. The neighbors merely gathered and stayed up until late at night for the

rest of the month. This was when the host began to feel burdened with the expenses. Every night, they had to serve at least fifteen cups of coffee and a variety of snacks.

More money had to be spent during the three days before the wedding reception. The host had to pay for the *tarub* (stage), meals, and *tayub* dancers. The burden was of course very heavy for *Mat* Tiken to bear. As a fisherman, he earned thirty thousand rupiahs per day at the most.

Two days before the D-day, the villagers of Gapurana worked together to set the *tarub*, tent, for the occasion. The day earlier they held *berasan*. *Berasan* is derived from the word *beras* (rice). They contribute three *gantang* (15 kg) of rice to the *gabay* host. *Saronen* musical performance had been played since early in the morning to accompany *berasan*.

On that early Saturday, the long awaited event was about to occur. It began at 09.00. I saw invited guests come and go. I could tell from the smell that they were wearing a new dress, especially the women. *Bu* Sahweney told me that in every wedding season, she had to prepare a new silk dress to wear in the occasion. One dress cost about 400 – 700 thousand rupiahs. Otherwise, she would prefer not to attend the wedding. She added that she bought a new dress from the *kalebun*. The *kalebun* indeed sold new dresses on credit. About the clothing style, "Whatever *Bu Kalebun* is wearing, that is the style we copy from," *Bu* Sahweney said.

Unlike women who were concerned about the clothing style, the male guests were wearing clothing of the same style: a suit with a *peci* cap and sarong. Almost all of them were wearing a silk woven sarong.

Male guests and female guests were not joined together. Whereas near the men's seats stood a stage, called *tandak* (*tayub* dancer) stage, close to the women's seats was the *bridal dais*. From 09.00 to 12.00, the crew played *campursari* songs in Madurese. One of them titled *Sri*, translated from the Javanese *Sri Kapan Kowe Bali*.

The guests were not seated in chairs. Instead they sat *lesehan*, on a mat spread on the ground. Twenty guests formed a circle. Then a meal of bread, a cup of syrup, rice accompanied with beef steak, eggs, curry, fried mashed potato, and mutton satay was served to them. I did not feel like eating at that time. Someone said to me, "You're gonna miss a great deal of food!"

Then a person stood carrying a book. He went around the place. The male guests put an envelope inside the book. This was called *atetolong*, or contribution. Ten to twenty thousand rupiahs was inside the envelope. They made note of the guests who gave contribution so that in the future they could give the same amount of contribution in return to them when they hosted a feast.

The guests who wanted to *nyawer* (dance and give money to the *tayub* dancer) stayed in their place. Otherwise, they left the place and watched the *tayub* performance from outside the area. The rules applied only to male guests.

At 12.00, the *tayuban* began. The *gelandang* (master of ceremony) stood on stage singing a number of Madurese songs. She then introduced the *tayub* crew and singers. That day it was the first-class singer, Mahwani, and the second best, Suhadie, *tayub* singers in Madura who entertained the audience. The three of them danced on the stage.

Suhadie, *penabuh*, and the other singers dressed in red kebaya and worn *sanggul*, traditional woman hairdo. Unlike them, Mahwanie put on regular sleeveless dress and trousers. Once in a while she was seen smoking. The two singers were not skinny. Mahwani looked older than Suhadie.

The *tandak*, followed by the *gelandang* moved toward the host who had been greeting the guests at the entrance. The two *tandak* sat at his side singing him a number of songs. They were holding his hands and made him blush. The *gelandang* sang him a song and teased him to kiss the two *tandak*.



Illustration 6
Nyawer tandak

Mahwani and Suhadie took the host to the stage. Together with the *gelandang*, they danced and sang a song. After some minutes, the male guests came to the stage. They danced and *nyawer*, gave money away to the *tandak*.

After one *gending* had been completed, a break was taking in. Still dancing, Suhadie went around the male guests' area. She put her scarf around the *kalebun*'s husband's neck. This meant that she invited him to come to the stage. There on the stage after giving her ten thousand rupiahs, the *kalebun*'s husband performed a dance with Suhadie. About twenty people followed him on the stage. They danced and *nyawer*.

Another *gending* was completed. It was time for Mahwanie to go around the place. Now it was *Mat* Darso's turn. He worked as a *pangelar*, initiator in a wedding reception. About thirty people followed him dancing on the stage. This indicated that *Mat* Darso had stronger influence than the *kalebun*'s husband did as the greater number of people following one dancing reflected the higher respect the villagers had for the person.

Mat Darso *nyawer* in almost every session. In each, he exchanged a fifty-thousand-rupiah bill into one-thousand-rupiah bills. One session left him with only eleven one-thousand-rupiah bills whereas in fact there were about fourteen *gending* played in the occasion. Did *Mat* Darso spend too much?

Mat Darso spent money like other villagers of Gapurana do. The only difference is that *Mat* Darso is a professional initiator. The *tandak* would return the money he gave away along with 600 thousand rupiahs from each *tandak*, not including the fee amounting to 500 thousand rupiahs paid by the host.

At 4.00 in the afternoon, the show came to an end. On my way back home, I met *Pak* Awang. He did not come to the wedding reception because he would be ashamed of not having money for

nyawer. That month's salary had been spent at *Mat* Rowi's a week ago. He would rather not come at all than not go on stage. The reason is that the male guests' pride lies on the stage where they dance with the *tandak* (compare Hefner, 1987).

2. The Tragedy in Wedding Parties

Pigeaud, quoted by Robert Hefner (1987:86), argues that *tayuban* identifies with fertility rites and is part of ritual associated with annual *bersih desa* festivity. The rites originate from an ancient Hindu tradition—which did not acknowledge the caste system. Thereby, their existence cannot be separated from the history of Blambangan and Tengger.

Hefner (1987:86) finds that during the reign of Sultan Agung, the first king of Mataram Kingdom, Blambangan and Tengger were the last Hindu population centers in Java. Sultan Agung then managed to conquer Blambangan and converted its population to Islam. Tengger was a different case. When Sultan Agung took over Tengger, the Tengger people fled to the slopes of a mountain unreachable by Sultan Agung's troops. This explains why Hindu traditions are still retained in Tengger highlands until now.

The Hinduism practiced in Tengger highlands is Hinduism without castes, unlike that in Bali. In Tengger, *tayuban* is performed in company of a Hindu priest invoking ancestral spirits. The *tandak* dance before the grave. Then the priest presents offerings and prayers. The dance is offered to ancestral spirits, in addition to its being a symbol of creation through interaction of male and female fertility in the dance (Hefner, 1987: 87).

*Tayub*an in Madura is associated with that in Tengger. As mentioned earlier, *tayuban* was part of tradition practiced in Blambangan, which had the most Hindu population at that time. This corresponds with the fact about *tayub* in Madura. A number of *tayub* group founders in Madura came from East Java. For example, Rukun Perawas, the most favorite *tayub* group in Madura and East Java. The design of the welcoming gate can serve as another indication. It has a typical Blambangan kingdom motif, i.e. a giant image painted on a yellow and red base, and an arc resembling a headdress worn by Menak Jinggo, a ruler of Blambangan.

The existence of Sumenep Kingdom is other evidence. As elaborated in chapter two, prior to the arrival of Islam, Sumenep Kingdom had been a Hindu kingdom. This opens to possibilities that *tayub* is a representation of Hindu tradition formerly practiced in Sumenep Kingdom and in Gapurana at present.

In the western part of Madura, such as in Bangkalan, Sampang dan Pamekasan, the local people and government have succeeded in banning *tayub* performance. This is understandable because of the existence of *pesantren* and strong influence of *kiai* in the three districts. In Sumenep alone, *tayub* can only be found in Saronggi, Kalianget, and Gapurana where Islam and the *kiai* do not have powerful influence.

Tayub performance in Gapurana identifies also with offerings to the supernatural spirits, despite the fact that it is not associated with *bersih desa* rites. Instead, in this case, tayub is associated with *nadzar*. Once I saw a group of people come to *buju* (grave) of Kapala Perang (the War Lord). The front row was occupied by *gamelan* players. They played instrumental music along the way. Following them were a

group of people undertaking *nadzar* and a buffalo. The buffalo was slaughtered before the grave in honor of Kapala Perang who was believed to have answered their *nadzar* (wish). The *nadzar* was to get cured from a bad illness. *Tandak* was not involved in the occasion.

Tayub in a wedding reception actually symbolizes fertility. Crops like corn, fruit, and rice are put together at the corner of the stage. They serve as offerings and at the same represent the wish for fortune upon the newlywed couple. However, only the elderly understand the meaning behind the symbol. To the most of villagers, *tayuban* is not more than just entertainment at a wedding reception.

Tayuban is also associated with prestige. If one family cannot afford to present *tayub* performance at their wedding, they will suffer from *malo* (shame). Similarly, the guests who cannot attend the occasion will feel ashamed too.

Malo in the social structure of Madura society identifies with pride. The term expresses the strongest feeling involved in the words alike. The following is a list of words in order of the strongest to the weakest feeling of embarrassment involved: *malo*, *parseko* (guilty), *todus* (embarrassed), *salekko* (ill at ease), *sengka* (uneasy), *pakebu* (shyly uncomfortable) (Rifai 2007: 331).

In economic terms, financial benefits can be derived from the presence of guests through the contribution of *atetolong*. *Atetolong* is a form of social exchange and symbol of social solidarity (see Ekeh, 1974). It is social investment which will bring a profit when the contributor hosts a festivity. This is because, as argued by Aafke E. Komter (2005: 2), *atetolong* is "an act that creates and maintains social ties by making people feel mutually obliged to give in return." In the event that at a

wedding reception the guests spend more money than they should, it is because they give away money to the *tandak*.

At any wedding receptions, the *kalebun* plays an important role as the villagers of Gapurana take the *kalebun* not only as their leader administratively but also traditionally, who in the past led ritual ceremonies. In relation to that, the presence of the *kalebun* means acknowledgement of the marriage. It also brings financial benefits as the presence of the *kalebun* also attracts the villagers to also attend the occasion. Thus, larger amount of *atetolong* can be collected. However, this still does not cover all the costs, like what *Mat* Rowi experienced

That morning, I heard that *Mat* Rowi had committed suicide. He was found dead in his room. According to the *kalebun*, *Mat* Rowi was shocked because he spent too much money for the wedding reception. He had sold his dryland field and cow, whereas money he got from the fish catch was not even enough to feed the family. One is indeed usually left with only two options after hosting a wedding reception.

The following table shows the gap in the amount between money received and money spent in hosting a wedding reception. In order to be able to pay for the debt, one who has skills in construction or trading will seek for a better life in Jakarta or Malaysia. Most of them then open a small shop or work on construction sites. Many become successful but many others fail. If one has no skills or knowledge, he is left with no other choices but to kill himself. Commiting suicide is the consequence arising from the feeling of shame, as clearly expressed in Madurese sayings: *etembhang pote mata ango 'an apotea tolang* (better die than live with shame) and *tambhana malo mate* (the cure for shame is death) (Rifai, 2007: 333-334).

To the *kalebun*, a wedding festivity is space to communicate with the villagers. They will feel honored if the *kalebun* is willing to be present at the event they host. The event tightens the bonds of solidarity and trust.

The present situation is very much different from the preceeding. The fourth *kalebun* always sent someone else to represent him at events held by the villagers. This was why they grew antipathetic feelings toward him. Even if they were obedient to him, the obedience arose rather from fear.

Sometimes *tandak* return *saweran* money they get from the *kalebun*'s husband. Therefore, the *kalebun* neither earns any profit nor suffers any losses. However, when *tandak* only get little money, they do not return the *saweran* money they get from the *kalebun*'s husband. In this case, the *kalebun's* husband can be said as suffering a financial loss. It is important to point out here that the *kalebun*'s husband gives away about one hundred to two hundred thousand rupiahs at one event of *saweran*.

Financial profits are gained by the *pangelar* and *tandak*. *Pangelar* is a figure who has the skill to influence people in the village. Using his skills, *pangelar* acts as an initiator or, more appropriately, provoker. He persuades villagers who are going to host a wedding party to hire the *tayub* crew. He even lends money in case they cannot afford to hire one. If in the end they do not have enough money to pay him back, usually they will sell their valuable assets, like cows and unit of land,

The *pangelar*'s hidden interest is that the wedding host will rent his sound system and stage equipment and hire the *tandak* of his choice.

Tandak actually get the most financial profits. The *pangelar* explains that the amount of money circulating during *nemor* season in the village is about 2 billion rupiahs. Almost half of it is used to pay *tandak*, say they are hired for the whole six months in the island and make a profit of about two million rupiahs for every performance.

Tandak have to return *saweran* money given by the *pangelar*, in addition to an extra of five hundred thousand rupiahs, as it was because of the *pangelar* that they are hired to perform. Though limited, the pangelar has the power over *tandak's* popularity. If *tandak* refuse to do as told by the *pangelar,* then the *pangelar* will not hire them to perform in Gapurana until an uncertain period of time.

Similarly, if the wedding host refuses to rent the *pangelar*'s sound system and stage equipment, the *pangelar* will do whatever it takes to make people not attend the occasion. The former *kalebun* recalled that once the *pangelar* invited policemen to a wedding party. There were indeed very few people at the occasion. As most villagers of Gapurana did not pay motor taxes, they were afraid that they would have to deal with the police if they came to the party by their motorcycle, the only means of transportation they could rely on to reach the place.

Pangelar and *kalebun* develop a mutually beneficial relationship. *Kalebun* accommodates the permission to hold a wedding in Gapurana. This enabled the *pangelar* to gain financial profits from the wedding organizer. In return, the *pangelar* acts as the "*the second man*". In the previous year's village head election, out of his own free will the *pangelar* provoked the villagers to vote for the *kalebun*. In the event of dispute, for example, the *kalebun* does not need to intervene. It is the *pangelar* who will take necessary efforts to settle the dispute.

Table 1
Income and Expenditure during the Wedding Party

INCOME			EXPENDITURE		
Type	Amount in Rupiah	Total	Type	Amount in Rupiah	Total
Contri-bution	Rp 20.000 x 500 invi-tations	Rp 10.000.000	Food and drink		Rp 25.000.000
			Gamelan rental fee		Rp 300.000
			Tayub Crew's fees		Rp 1.000.000
			Stage for *Tayub* Crew		Rp 300.000
			Terob		Rp 1.000.000
			Singers' fees	Rp600.000 x 2	Rp 1.200.000
			Soundsystem equipment		Rp 700.000
			Bridal Dais Set		Rp 1.500.000
			Stage for *tandak*		Rp 300.000
			Tent for kitchen		Rp 400.000
			Cooks' fees	Rp100.000 x 5	Rp 500.000
			Gelandang MC' s fees	Rp300.000 x 2	Rp 600.000
			Invitation costs		Rp 2.000.000
	Total	Rp10.000.000	Total		Rp 34.800.000

CHAPTER IV
CONTESTATION

A. The Genealogy of the Tradition

Chapter Two argues that the genealogical process of tradition in Gapurana is inseparable from the preceding practices during the Dutch colonial times. On the one hand, the tradition of *kalebun* is influenced by the establishment of Sumenep Kingdom prior to the arrival of Islam. On the other, the tradition of *langgar kiai* is influenced by the establishment of Sumenep Kingdom after the arrival of Islam.

The tradition of *kalebun* owes its existence to the transformation of function of cultural brokers. As explained in Chapter Two, originally the traditional leader at *tanean lanjang* level, *kalebun* is now the village head. Traditional leadership has undergone a transformation of functions.

My interpretation is that *kalebun* is the traditional leader in relation to the settlement system (*tanean lanjang).* This is an issue of the sphere of influence. Every *tanean* is led by a *kalebun*. Consequently, residents of a *tanean* cannot easily accept the presence of *kalebun* of other *tanean*. The system acknowledges a traditionally respected person *(kalebun)* in the village as their leader.

The appointment of *lurah* replaces *kalebun* at the top of the village society hierarchy. Administrators of Sumenep Kingdom might have appointed one of *kalebun* to act as *lurah*. Like it or not, members of *tanean* society had to accept the appointed *lurah* as their leader at village level. The sphere of influence in turn got wider, from *tanean* to village.

At present, *kalebun* refers to the village head. This indicates that there has been a shift in the symbolic function of *kalebun* as traditional leader. In other words, *kalebun* currently represents traditional leader as well as administrative head at the same time. Such leadership model is adopted in Gapurana. Therefore, it is reasonable that the villagers of Gapurana take their kalebun as *orengtua* (parents).

It is important to point out here that Madurese society arranges the following "formula" of terms of address on a descending degree of reverence: *bhuppa' bhabhu' goro rato* (father-mother-teacher-*rato*) (Rifai, 2007:422). Therefore, *bhuppa' bhabbu* are more respected than *goro*. That is also the case in Gapurana: *kalebun* is more respected by the villagers than *langgar kiai*.

The villagers of Gapurana take *langgar kiai* merely as *goro*, a fact contrary to Madurese society at large in which *kiai* are taken as *orengtua* as well as *goro* at the same time.

Langgar kiai is *imam* (religious leader at *tanean* level). Does this signify that there has been a shift in function from *kalebun* to *langgar kiai*? The coming of Islam makes the assumption reasonable, given that *langgar* is similar to *pura* (Hindu shrine) in Hindu tradition (Mansurnoor, 1990:7; see also van der Veur, 2007). The term used here is "a shift in function" as Islam brought changes in the essence,

instead of form, of Hindu tradition into Islam, of *pura* into *langgar*, and of *kalebun* into *langgar kiai*.

Hence, the genealogical process of cultural broker establishment in Gapurana is associated with the social structure and the sphere of influence *(tanean)*. The transformation of social structure affects the boundary of the sphere of influence. It is therefore evident that in Gapurana the *kalebun* has a wider sphere of influence than *langgar kiai* does. Whereas the sphere of influence of the former covers the area within the scope of the village, the sphere of influence of the latter is limited to the area of one or several *tanean*.

B. Rituals, Institutionalization, and the Sphere of Influence

In relation to the genealogical process of tradition, I argue that it denotes a process of institutionalization. Whereas Talal Asad views that the process runs in the course of time, I suggest that the process in Gapurana runs not only in the course of time but also space. In other words, the process of institutionalization takes place in particular space, institutional space to be exact.

Institution, as argued by Zanden and Wilfrid (1996:51) is "the principal instruments whereby the essential tasks of living are organized, directed, and executed". Thereby, whereas the tradition of *kalebun* necessitates a wedding reception, which involves *tayub*, the tradition of *langgar kiai* necessitates *dhiba 'an yassinan* and *madrasah ibtida 'iyah* as their institutional space. The said institutional space involve *habitus* and embodiment (Asad, 1993), as well as "power" and resistence. With regard to *habitus*, Marcel Mauss, quoted by Talal Asad (1993:73), argues that

> "*… these 'habits' do not vary just with individuals and their imitations; they vary especially between societies, education, proprieties and fashions, prestiges. In them we should see the techniques and work of collective and individual practical reason rather than, in the ordinary way, merely the soul and its repetitive faculties.*"

Habitus, in the above passage, can hardly be translated as habit, as habits merely presuppose repetitive actions. It is, therefore, better to analyze *habitus* from the techniques of collective as well as individual actions. *Habitus* is a manifestation of "practical reason".

To suffer from *malo* if one cannot afford *nyawer* is practical reason why the villagers of Gapurana enjoy *tayub*. The other practical reason is "*lebur*" (pleasure) they get when dancing with *tandak*. Quoting Helen Bouvier (2002:10), *lebur* is "the essence of esthetical experience". Moreover, *lebur* is a pleasure capable of bringing the bearer into ecstasy. There lies the practical reason (historizing knowledge) why the villagers of Gapurana participate, dance, and *nyawer* in *tayuban*.

Yet, the "practical reason" within the context of the tradition of *langgar kiai* is hard to define. The villagers of Gapurana attend *dhiba 'an* and *yassinan* simply because they are routines. Whether or not they attend them does not make any difference. Those institutional space do not yield as much pleasure as the institutional space of the *kalebun* does.

The tradition of *langgar kiai* is second to that of the *kalebun*. It appears that the tradition of *langgar kiai* has yet to match the tradition of *kalebun*. Consequently, *langgar kiai* offer resistance to the tradition of *kalebun*. Based on my observation, the resistance takes form in a number of ways. First, in the early morning female *santri* perform *tadarus*. It is no coincidence that their voice reciting the Qur'an comes

out through a loudspeaker. The purpose is to awaken the villagers and especially the *kalebun,* whose house is in direction of the loudspeaker, in the hope that they will immediately perform the *subuh* prayers. Second, the *langgar kiai* opens his langgar as place to perform the Friday prayers without permission from the local Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI). It is evident that it is intended to attract the mass.

Two terms denote the *langgar kiai's* action: politics of consciousness and poetics of space. Talal Asad (1993:77) argues that" 'consiousness' becomes a dependent concept". In this case, consciousness built in the tradition of *langgar kiai* is a reaction to the practical consciousness built in the tradition of *kalebun*. From the the point of view of the latter, the *langgar kiai's* resistance is capable of disrupting the stability of the existing social order. This, also, opens to conflicts.

On the other hand, the holding of the Friday prayers in *langgar* is a form of sanctification of *langgar* or "poetization" of space. "Poetization" here means giving sanctity to a worldly object. *Langgar* as a place to perform the Friday prayers is viewed as space for discursive construct (Kong, 2001:213). Thereby, the structure of the tradition of *langgar kiai* can be constructed, like that of *pesantren* in the mainland of Madura.

C. Structure/Structuration, Politics of Piety, and Personal Interests

From the case described in the previous chapter, we can conclude that rituals are a respresentation of a social order. The domain of tradition of *kalebun* is undoubtedly wider than that of *langgar kiai;*

yet, it is not impossible that the social order in the tradition of *langgar kiai* will replace the social order in the tradition of *kalebun*. One of the ways to realize that is by taking actions as a form of resistance. Resistance is put up by cultural brokers. For the reason, cultural brokers play a significant role in the maintenance and/or transformation of social order.

Zanden and Wilfrid (1996:46-47) claim that social structure is social order manifested in relatively stable interactions. However, structure is dynamic. It changes according to social interactions happening within itself. The dynamics enables social structure not only to facilitate integration but also to cause conflicts. The *langgar kiai's* resistance, therefore, has triggered conflicts with the social order in the tradition of *kalebun*.

Does the analysis above contain too many functionalist perspectives? Geertz is suspicious of functionalists. In the case of Paidjan's death, Geertz (1973:145) claims that functionalists are not able to "distinguish the 'logico-meaningful' cultural aspects of ritual pattern from the 'causal-functional' social structural aspects ...". Why did the *modin*, being a Muslim, refuse to bury Paidjan after catcthing sight of a cross at his uncle's house? A *modin* is structurally responsible for conducting funerals. He should have willingly conducted Paidjan's funeral, given the fact that Paidjan was a Muslim. That was indeed an issue of politics of ritual (Adeney-Risakotta, 2005:62-63). That is also the case in Gapurana. The issue is not social structure versus culture, but rather a contestation between two traditions.

The dynamics of social structure is apparent in the process of contestation. At community level, the two traditions can, on the one hand, maintain the social order and, on the other hand, transform it.

In relation to the order-maintaining role, Eisenstadt (1995:298) suggests two processes: those related to creation, articulation, and institutionalization and structured ones. Through creation, patterns of behaviors and thinking are constructed and along with the passing of time articulated in different contexts; and later through the process of institutionalization by rules and penalties they are transformed into patterns that are able to give structure to the society.

In relation to the order-transforming role, there are two potentials affecting the process. First is based on the assumption that structured patterns of behaviors and thinking do not always correspond with the reality in the society. Second is based on the fact that the process of institutionalization does not run simultaneously at all times. Instead, the law of action-reaction, which may cause conflicts, applies in the process (Eisenstadt, 1995: 301). Again, this is acceptable when placed in a context of contestation.

Assuming that social structure is dynamic, then "social structure" is more appropriately called as structuration, in Gidden's term (2006:8), with reference to a process that is reconstructed at every moment. Reconstruction and construction in turn require strategy to maintain the order and at the same time imply interests.

The *kalebun* applies the politics of piety in response to the tradition of *kalebun*. In daily practice as well as in *dhiba 'an*, she wears a Saudi-style sheath skirt with a trendy Muslim headscarf covering her hair. To the villagers of Gapurana, her dressing style sets a perfect example. Here is where the agency process takes place.

In the *kalebun's* opinion, one's dress reflects one's personality. Besides, it is also a manifestation of politics of piety. She adopts her

dressing style not because of the commands of the Qur'an or the Hadith. Nor is it because the *langgar kiai* has told her to do so. Style is the reason why; and this is "piety" (see Mahmood, 2005). Thereby through the process, the villagers view her as a pious woman. Furthermore, for them, especially the women, the *kalebun* has become a role model of not only dress style but also of other matter like television programs to watch.

The *kalebun* and *langgar kiai* dress differently despite the fact these cultural brokers are manifesting politics of piety. The *langgar kiai's* piety develops from reproduction of knowledge. As mentioned in the previous chapter, his father was the first preacher of Islam in the village. A *pesantren* graduate, the *langgar kiai's* father must have raised his son in accordance with the Qur'an and the Hadith. Cognitive knowledge has, therefore, become embodied in the *langgar kiai's* daily practices.

If the *langgar kiai's* resistance is compared to the *kalebun's* agency, difference can be derived from the two terms. They, basically, root in reaction (compare Scott, 1985; Mahmood, 2004). Yet, on the one hand, resistance arises from positive reaction to structure. In this case, the *langgar kiai's* resistance is counter reaction to the tradition of the *kalebun*. On the other hand, agency is negative reaction to social order. The *kalebun's* agency arises not merely as reaction to the tradition of *langgar kiai* but also as an instrument of imagology.

In addition, agency makes possible the involvement of cultural brokers' personal interests. This is because agency requires actions for itself, instead of direct effect of structure. In the case of the *kalebun* of Gapurana, politics of piety is an instrument to maintain her good image

so that her people will always like her, or rather accept her the way she is.

D. Between the Tradition of *Langgar Kiai* and the Tradition of *Kalebun*

The previous chapters provide the background of analysis of how the tradition of *langgar kiai* and the tradition of *kalebun* contest each other. Is it a manifestation of contestation between local Islamic values and universal ones? Or disagreement between adat and religion? Or a battle between Hindu-influenced Islamic practices and Arab-influenced Islamic practices?

I interpret the phenomenon that occurs in Gapurana as contestation between two traditions, say the tradition of the *kalebun* and the tradition of the *langgar kiai*. Despite the fact that religious elements are involved in the contestation, I would rather see it as, in Talal Asad's term (1996), discursive tradition. The previous discussion argues that placing a religion in the context of discursive tradition is to see it as a discourse with genealogy (past), continuity (future), and dynamics (present).

The *kalebun* and the *langgar kiai* practice their respective tradition. Despite the difference in the practice, both traditions live within one common society (of Gapurana). As a result, contestation takes place. Every one of them strives to exist through the existing social constructions.

It can be said that the tradition of the *kalebun* has become the foundation of the social order in Gapurana, despite the fact the process should go along with practices of financial monopoly in the village.

On the contrary, the tradition of *langgar kiai* is a threat to the social order in Gapurana, although if practiced consequently it can reduce the negative effect of financial monopoly in the village. Now it depends on how the *langgar kiai* institutionalizes his tradition into practical reason in Gapurana.

In terms of religious practices, both the *kalebun* and the *langgar kiai* practice Islam. However, they have different perspectives on Islam. Islam in the *kalebun's* viewpoint cannot be separated from the traditions existing prior to the coming of Islam to the village, be it Hindu traditions or ancestral traditions; whereas Islam in the *langgar kiai's* point of view is the one taught by his father in accordance with the commands of the Qur'an and the Hadith.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

The villagers of Gapurana see their *kalebun* as their role model as a result of a long ongoing institutionalizing process. This cannot be separated from the genealogical process beginning in the Dutch colonial times in which *kalebun* leadership was established in Gapurana. Wedding parties and *tayuban* as institutional space for the *kalebun* have contributed in the social order in the village.

In the capacity as a cultural broker, *kalebun* is considered more able than *langgar kiai* in offering *lebur* (pleasure) to the villagers of Gapurana. The barren conditions of Gapurana, which is surrounded by the sea, have led them to a thirst of *lebur*, from which practical reason—that offers immediate pleasure—originates. In this case, wedding parties and *tayuban* are institutional space that serves the purpose of satisfying the villagers' need for pleasure and at the same time of being institutionalization space for the tradition of *kalebun*. Moreover, they become the most effective institutionalization space in Gapurana in the event of the absence of *pesantren* as the institutionalization space for *langgar kiai*.

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